

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 02727 281412Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 DHA-02 CU-02
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /083 W
-----281548 072993 /46

R 281315Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4613
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION NATO
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 2727

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, SHUM, FR, UR
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS: SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARDS FRANCE

REF: PARIS 05168

SUMMARY: AS WESTERN CRITICISM OF SOVIET TREATMENT OF
DISSIDENTS CONTINUES, SOVIETS WILL PROBABLY TURN MORE
ATTENTION TO SEEKING OUT THOSE NON-COMMUNIST GOVERN-
MENTS WHICH ARE LESS PUBLICALLY OUTSPOKEN ON ISSUE.
MOSCOW HOPES TO GAIN SOME MEASURE OF SUPPORT, AT LEAST
ON ISSUE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 02727 281412Z

FRANCE IS OBVIOUS CASE IN POINT. END SUMMARY.

1. WE AGREE WITH REFTEL THAT GISCARD'S RELATIVE
QUIESCENCE ON ISSUE OF SOVIET TREATMENT OF DISSI-
DENTS (E.G., HIS HANDLING OF THE ALMARIK CASE) WILL MAKE
HIM MORE ATTRACTIVE TO SOVIETS IN COMING MONTHS.
WITH NO PROSPECTS FOR ANY OPEN SUPPORT IN WEST ON

HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE SOVIETS, AND OTHER EE COUNTRIES WE SUSPECT, WILL AT LEAST SEEK TO IMPROVE THEIR RELATIONS WITH THOSE COUNTRIES WHO ARE LEAST PUBLICALLY OUTSPOKEN ON ISSUE IN ORDER TO REINFORCE THAT TENDENCY, TO DEMONSTRATE TO OTHERS THAT THERE ARE BENEFITS TO SILENCE, AND ABOVE ALL TO TRY TO STRENGTHEN EASTERN POSITION IN BELGRADE.

2. NOTWITHSTANDING RECENT IRRITANTS (E.G. DEMONSTRATION AGAINST AEROFLOT OFFICE, FRENCH EXPULSION OF SOVIET UNESCO OFFICIAL), FRENCH AND GISCARD ARE BEST BET TO BE AMONG FIRST TO WHOM SOVIETS WOULD TURN. ALSO, WE BELIEVE SOVIETS ARE PROBABLY AWARE THAT THERE ARE FEWER PRESSURES ON GOF THAN ON OTHERS TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THEREFORE GOF MAY WELL BE WORTH COURTING.

3. WE PASS ALONG COMMENTS OF OUR FRENCH COLLEAGUES HERE ON WHY GOF IS RELUCTANT TO SPEAK OUT ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. ACCORDING TO THEM: (1) A MAJOR ELEMENTS AT BASE OF GOF POLICY CONTINUES TO BE GOOD RELATIONS WITH SOVIETS; (2) SINCE FRANCE IS NOT SUPERPOWER, ITS MARGIN FOR ACTION IS MUCH MORE LIMITED THAN IS THAT OF U.S.; (3) FRANCE MAKES IT PRACTICE TO TRY TO REMAIN DIPLOMATICALLY UNINVOLVED WHENEVER POSSIBLE IN DIRECT EAST-WEST DISPUTES WHICH ARE BASICALLY U.S.-SOVIET ARGUMENTS, AND CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS CONTROVERSY CAN PLAUSIBLY BE PORTRAYED AS SUCH. GOF RELUCTANCE TO APPEAR TO BE FOLLOWING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 02727 281412Z

U.S. LEAD IS PARTICULARLY STRONG WHERE POTENTIAL GOF ROLE IS SMALL, AS IT IS HERE; (4) FRENCH PRESS AND PRIVATE PRESSURE GROUPS (E.G. JEWISH, RUSSIAN AND EXILE ETHNIC COMMUNITIES) ARE FAR LESS CAPABLE OF EXERTING INFLUENCE ON GOF THERE AS CASE IN USA OR UK.

4. WE THINK MOST OBVIOUS ATTRACTION TO SOVIETS IS POSSIBILITY OF REINFORCING AND EXPLOITING FRENCH RELUCTANCE TO LET BELGRADE BECOME CONTENTIOUS MEETING BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. ANDREANI'S VIEW OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT (PARA 5 OF REFTTEL), THAT ACCORDS WERE NOT WRITTEN TO CHANGE SOVIET INTERNAL COMPORTMENT, IS AN ATTITUDE SOVIETS WOULD DELIGHT IN SEEING EXPRESSED BY ALL SIGNATORIES. IN ADDITION, SOVIETS WOULD HOPE TO EXPLOIT THOSE FRENCH NATIONALIST SENSITIVITIES OVER INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS WHICH SURFACED DURING RECENT AMALRIK DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE.
TOON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, HUMAN RIGHTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 28-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MOSCOW02727
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770068-0926
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977023/aaaaacll.tel
Line Count: 116
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: cb8317c5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 PARIS 5168
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3289124
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HUMAN RIGHTS: SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARDS FRANCE
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, FR, UR, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/cb8317c5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009